The Terror in McComb, P. 4

Where the FBI and the Secret Service Were Culpable in Kennedy's Assassination

"There was insufficient liaison . . . between the Secret Service and other Federal agencies. . . . Although the FBI . . . had secured considerable information about Lee Harvey Oswald, it had no official responsibility, under the Secret Service criteria existing at the time of the President's trip to Dallas, to refer to the Secret Service the information it had. The Commission concluded, however, that the FBI took an unduly restrictive view of its role. . . .

"At the time of the trip to Dallas, the Secret Service as a matter of practice did not investigate, or cause to be checked, any building along the motorcade route. . . .

"On Nov. 4 [FBI man] Hosty telephoned the Texas School Book Depository and learned that Oswald was working there. . . . Agents of the FBI in Dallas did not consider Oswald's presence in the Texas School Book Depository Building overlooking the motorcade route as a source of danger to the President and did not inform the Secret Service. . . ." —*The Warren Report (at pps. 24, 438 and 443).*

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The Left and the Warren Commission Report

All my adult life as a newspaperman I have been fighting, in defense of the Left and of a sane politics, against conspiracy theories of history, character assassination, guilt by association and demonology. Now I see elements of the Left using these same tactics in the controversy over the Kennedy assassination and the Warren Commission Report. I believe the Commission has done a first-rate job, on a level that does our country proud and is worthy of so tragic an event. I regard the case against Lee Harvey Oswald as the lone killer of the President as conclusive. By the nature of the case, absolute certainty will never be attained, and those still convinced of Oswald's innocence have a right to pursue the search for evidence which might exculpate him. But I want to suggest that this search be carried on in a sober manner and with full awareness of what is involved.

Slander, Not Controversy

It is one thing to analyze discrepancies. It is quite another to write and speak in just that hysterical and defamatory way from which the Left has suffered in the last quarter century or more of political controversy. I want to start with my dear and revered friend, Bertrand Russell. He owes it to all of us who have looked to him as a world spokesman of the peace movement, as a great philosopher and humanitarian, to speak more responsibly on this subject. It was not responsible, on the basis of a transatlantic phone call from Mark Lane, to attack the report as "a sorrily incompetent document" which "covers its authors in shame" without having first read it. This is on a par, in its febrile prejudgment, with Lord Russell's earlier statement comparing Lane's defense of Oswald with Zola's defense of Dreyfus, and declaring, "There has never been a more subversive, conspiratorial, unpatriotic or endangering course for the security of the United States and the world than the attempt by the U.S. Government to hide the murderers of its recent President." This assumes instead of proving. It is slander, not controversy.

Statements of this kind imply not just one but three conspiracies. One was a conspiracy to kill the President. The second was a conspiracy to kill Oswald lest he talk. The third is a conspiracy by the Warren Commission to hush up the facts. These are monstrous charges, and cannot honorably be made on the basis of surmise. Russell's American advisers have fed him not evidence but misstatement and poppycock. The Warren Commission was chosen to provide a bipartisan body which would command the widest public respect. Russell calls it "utterly unrepresentative of the American people." This is nonsense. The two Democrats chosen from either House of Congress, Senator Russell of Georgia and Congressman Boggs of Louisiana, are highly respected even by those who disagree with them. Lord Russell dismisses them as men "whose racist views have brought shame on the United States." What do their typical Southern prejudices have to do with their probity? Russell dismisses the two Republicans as "Senator Cooper of Kentucky and Congressman Gerald L. Ford of Michigan, the latter of whom is a leader of his local Goldwater movement and an associate of the FBI." Ford is chairman of the House Republican Conference. He is supporting his party's ticket in this elec-

(Continued on Page Two)

They Finally Listed Rightists

"When the special file [in the Protective Research Section of the Secret Service] was reviewed on Nov. 8 [for the President's trip], it contained the names of no persons from the entire Dallas-Ft. Worth area, notwithstanding the fact that Ambassador Stevenson had been abused by pickets in Dallas less than a month before . . . (pps. 432-3).

"Since the assassination, both the Secret Service and the FBI have recognized that the PRS files can no longer be limited largely to persons communicating actual threats to the President. On Dec. 25, 1963, the FBI circulated additional instructions to all its agents, specifying criteria for information to be furnished the Secret Service. . . . The new instructions require FBI agents to report immediately information concerning:

" 'Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists (a) possessing emotional instability or irrational behavior, (b) who have made threats of bodily harm against officials . . . (c) who express or have expressed strong or violent anti-US sentiments and who have been involved in bombing. . . .' " (p. 461).

—*The Warren Commission Report.*

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(Continued from Page One)

tion but far from being "a leader of his local Goldwater movement" he nominated Romney for President at the Republican convention in the hope of stopping Goldwater. He denies any association with the FBI and there is no evidence of any such link. John Sherman Cooper in the Senate in 1954, when every Democratic liberal Senator except Kefauver lost his nerve, made the one uncompromisingly principled speech against the Anti-Communist Act passed in that year. There never was a more dangerous year in which to stand up against hysteria. I knew John J. McCloy during the war as a public servant of unusual competence. I have criticized Allen W. Dulles constantly over the years. But I would not impute to him or any other member of the Commission conduct so evil as to conspire with the secret services to protect the killers of a President. This is also to assume that Chief Justice Warren, whom the right hates for his decisions protecting Negroes and radicals, would be a party to a conspiracy to protect a cabal of rightist assassins.

This Is Demonology

This is what I call demonology, and this is what has so often been used against the Left. Demonology is the notion that because a man disagrees with you politically, he must be impervious to honor, duty, patriotism, and mercy—in short a demon, i.e. all of one piece, black evil, and not a human being, i.e. full of contradictions. Demonology also implies that such a person is fair game for any libel or slander, since ipso facto beyond the pale of decency. This is the standard applied by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Eastland Committee and McCarthy before them to Left-wingers. It is no less evil when applied to the right. Here is a sample from Joachim Joesten's book, "Oswald: Assassin or Fall-Guy". To provide a motive for the conspiracy he alleges, Joesten writes,

"Cuba sticks in the craw of the CIA. The fiasco of the Bay of Pigs cost Allen Dulles his job. Moreover, once Kennedy began a policy of easing the Cold War, some of the CIA, like much of the Pentagon, would be dismantled and the agency brought under presidential control. I am sure there are men in the CIA, just as there are General Walkers in the army, who simply couldn't accept this situation and who thought of Kennedy as a traitor. And traitors are executed."

The Metal Files That Never Were

"Oswald's apartment, too, was filled with fascinating things. Besides the batches of leaflets with the legend 'Hands Off Cuba' and bearing the unauthorized imprint of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, police found seven metal file boxes filled with names of Castro sympathizers. How did he manage, in so short a time, to compile so extensive a list?"

—Oswald and the FBI (The Nation, Jan. 27).

"Commission finding—The Dallas police inventories of Oswald's property taken from his room at 1026 North Beckley avenue do not include any file boxes. A number of small file boxes listed in the inventory as having been taken from the Paine residence in Irving contained letters, pictures, books and literature, most of which belonged to Ruth Paine, not to Oswald. No lists of names of Castro sympathizers were found among these effects."

—The Warren Commission Report, p. 666.

This is libellous in the extreme. It implies that Allen Dulles would be a party to killing Kennedy and hushing up the truth because he lost his job after the Bay of Pigs. Such charges, as sloppy as they are wild, are dishonorable and dissolve the fabric of society. They seek to destroy a man's reputation on the basis of evil surmise and guilt by association. People on the Left ought to recall the all too recent past before allowing themselves to be drawn into folly by such tactics.

The Joesten book is rubbish, and Carl Marzani—whom I defended against loose charges in the worst days of the witch hunt—ought to have had more sense of public responsibility than to publish it. Thomas G. Buchanan, another victim of witch hunt days, has gone in for similar rubbish in his book, "Who Killed Kennedy?" You couldn't convict a chicken thief on the flimsy slap-together of surmise, half-fact and whole untruth in either book. Here again elementary fairness is involved. The Joesten book implies that the rightist Texas oil millionaire H. L. Hunt was involved in the plot to kill Kennedy. Buchanan names an oilman he calls Mr. X. This imputes murder to a man whose views we dislike, and does so without evidence of any kind. Buchanan writes as if he were penning a whodunit. "I believe the murder of the

The Kind of False Rumors That Might Have Provoked Armed Action Against Cuba

"Literally dozens of allegations of a conspiratorial contact between Oswald and agents of the Cuban government have been investigated by the Commission. . . . 'D', a young Latin American secret agent approached the U.S. authorities in Mexico shortly after the assassination and declared that he saw Lee Harvey Oswald receiving $6500 to kill the President . . . 'D' and his allegations were immediately subjected to intensive investigation. His former employment as an agent for a Latin American country was confirmed, although his superiors had no knowledge of his presence in Mexico or the assignment described by 'D'. Four days after 'D' first appeared the U.S. Government was informed by the Mexican authorities that 'D' had admitted in writing that his whole narrative about Oswald was false. . . .

"The investigation of the Commission has thus produced no evidence that Oswald's trip to Mexico was in any way connected with the assassination of President Kennedy, nor has it uncovered evidence that the Cuban government had any involvement in the assassination. To the contrary, the Commission has been advised by the CIA and FBI that secret and reliable sources corroborate the statements of Senora Duran [a Mexican national employed in the visa section of the Cuban consulate in Mexico City] in all material respects and that the Cuban government had no relationship with Lee Harvey Oswald other than that described by Senora Duran. . . .

"Speculation—On Nov. 27, 1963, in a speech at the University of Havana, Fidel Castro, under the influence of liquor, said 'The first time that Oswald was in Cuba. . . .' Castro therefore had knowledge that Oswald had made surreptitious visits to Cuba.

"Commission finding—Castro's speeches are monitored directly by the U.S. Information Agency as he delivers them. A tape of this speech reveals that it did not contain the alleged slip of the tongue. Castro did refer to Oswald's visit to the 'Cuban Embassy' in Mexico. . . .

—The Warren Report, at pps. 307-9 and 659.

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President," says Buchanan, "was provoked, primarily, by fear of the domestic and international consequences of the Moscow Pact: The danger of disarmament which would disrupt the industries on which the plotters depended and of an international *detente* which would, in their view, have threatened the eventual nationalization of their oil investments overseas." And the whole commission, from Chief Justice Warren down, and its whole staff, and the vast network of the police, the FBI, the CIA and the Secret Service all conspired to keep this secret? Not one man felt impelled by conscience to break out and tell the truth? People who believe such things belong in the booby-hatch.

Gen. Walker Also Cries Whitewash

If the FBI and the CIA were so powerful, why didn't they take advantage of the murder by a supposed Communist and Castroite to set off a wave of anti-Red hysteria, to poison our relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union? Why did they clear the Communists at home and abroad of complicity? Why did they disprove the wild stories about Oswald's links with Castro? The box at the bottom of page two gives a sample of the wild whoppers an unscrupulous secret service could have set loose. If they had so much power in the Warren Commission why didn't they hush up its damning criticism of the FBI and the Secret Service (see box on page one)? If Oswald was innocent, why did they have to kill him to shut him up? If he was killed as part of a conspiracy, why was he killed in full view of the TV cameras when he might have been bumped off in a fake ambush while being moved at night to another prison? This is an insane morass of paranoid conjecture, and those who remain in it even after the Warren report are either unscrupulous or sick. Look at the ultimate lunacy: General Walker, who regarded Kennedy as a tool of the Communists, is sure he was killed by the Reds. He attacks the Warren report as a whitewash. "There's bound to have been a plot," Gen. Walker says. On the other hand Leftists who lean to the Chinese viewpoint and regarded Kennedy in his lifetime as a warmonger and tool of the right, are now sure he must have been killed by a rightist conspiracy. How wacky can you get?

A Whopper of Neo-Nazi Origin

"The Enquirer story goes on to say that the Dallas police suspected Oswald and Ruby of being involved in an attack on General Walker, and was going to arrest the two when the FBI intervened and asked the police not to do so for 'reasons of state.' The police agreed only upon receipt of an official communication from the FBI. While the National Enquirer is not the most reliable newspaper in the world, the story bears inner marks of authenticity because the recipient of that FBI letter was, of course, Chief of Police Curry, who leaked it to reporter Henshaw."

—Joachim Joesten: Oswald: Assassin or Fall Guy? (Marzani & Munsell) 1964. Page 124.

"Commission finding—This allegation appeared in the November 29 issue of (actually printed on Nov. 25 or 26) of a German weekly newspaper, Deutsche National Zeitung and Soldaten Zeitung published in Munich [Germany's leading neo-Nazi organ—IFS]. The allegation later appeared in the National Enquirer of May 17, 1964. The Commission has been reliably informed that the statement was fabricated by an editor of the newspaper. No evidence in support of this statement has ever been advanced or uncovered. In their investigation of the attack on General Walker, the Dallas police uncovered no suspects and planned no arrests. The FBI had no knowledge that Oswald was responsible for the attack until Marina Oswald revealed the information on Dec. 3, 1963."

—The Warren Commission Report, Appendix XII: Speculations and Rumors, p. 662.

How The Warren Commission Decided Oswald Was Neither A Soviet Nor U.S. Agent

"If the Soviet agents had communicated with Oswald while he was in the Marine Corps, one of the least probable instructions they would have given him would have been to defect. If Oswald had remained a Marine radar specialist, he might at some point have reached a position of value as a secret agent. However, his defection and the disloyal statements he made publicly in connection with it eliminated the possibility that he would ever gain access to confidential information or programs of the U.S. The very fact that he defected, therefore, is itself persuasive evidence that he was not recruited as an agent prior to his defection. (p. 257). . . . Moreover persuasive evidence that Oswald's conduct was not carefully coached by Soviet agents is provided by some of his actions at the Embassy. The single statement which probably caused Oswald the most future trouble was his declaration that he had already volunteered to a Soviet official that he would, if asked, tell the Soviet Government all that he knew about his job in radar as a Marine. Certainly a statement of this type would prejudice any possibility of his being an effective pro-Communist agent. (p. 265). . . .

"Speculation—Oswald was an informant of either the FBI or the CIA. He was recruited by an agency of the U.S. Government and sent to Russia in 1959.

"Commission's finding—Mrs. Marguerite Oswald frequently expressed the opinion that her son was such an agent, but she stated before the Commission, 'I cannot prove Lee is an agent.' The directors of the CIA and of the FBI testified before the Commission that Oswald was never employed by either agency or used by either agency in any capacity. Investigation by the Commission has revealed no evidence that Oswald was ever employed by either the FBI or the CIA in any capacity.

"Speculation—Oswald told Pauline Bates, a public stenographer in Fort Worth, Tex., in June 1962 that he had become a 'secret agent' of the U.S. Government and that he was soon going back to Russia 'for Washington.'

"Commission finding—Miss Bates denied a newspaper story reporting that Oswald had told her that he was working for the U.S. Dept. of State. She stated that she had assumed incorrectly that he was working with the Dept. of State when he told her that the State Dept. had told him in 1959 that he would be on his own while in the Soviet Union.

"Speculation—The FBI tried to recruit Oswald. An FBI agent's name, telephone number and automobile license number were found among Oswald's papers.

"Commission's findings—FBI officials have testified that they had never tried to recruit Oswald to act on behalf of the FBI in any capacity. The Commission's investigation corroborates this testimony. An FBI agent, James P. Hosty, Jr., had given his name and telephone number to Mrs. Ruth Paine so that she could call and give him Oswald's address in Dallas when she learned it. Mrs. Paine and Marina Oswald have stated that Mrs. Paine gave Oswald a slip of paper with the agent's name and telephone number on it. Marina Oswald had taken down the license number of Hosty's car and given it to her husband." (p. 660).

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A State Policeman Threatened a Bombing Victim With More Dynamite

What Five Negroes From McComb Told Washington About the Terror There

The White House requested an FBI investigation of Negro violence in nine northern cities. It has asked for no similar report on anti-Negro violence in the Deep South. If it had, the report might resemble a letter to Asst. Attorney General Burke Marshall from Jessie Harris, Project Director in McComb, Miss. It tells of relative quiet in McComb until mid-August. Then 12 of the 16 FBI agents there began to leave. Then, also, public attention turned away from the Mississippi Summer Project. Local COFO workers planned their first voter registration drive for Aug. 18. The terror began on Aug. 15. Twenty city, county and state police raided COFO Freedom Houses and searched the files. On Aug. 23, they began to raid Negro establishments patronized by COFO workers. The proprietors were arrested. Three COFO workers were beaten in daylight in downtown McComb. Bombings began on Aug. 29. There were 6 within 72 hours in early September. The latest ones have been accompanied by mass arrests of Negroes under a criminal syndicalism law passed early this summer. It carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail, and a $1,000 fine.

What the FBI Said

We had a chance last week to talk with five Negroes from McComb. Three were women whose homes had been bombed because they gave help to COFO. Mrs. Quin's home was destroyed September 20. Neighbors were reluctant to keep her two injured children while she was away in Washington. "People are so scared their eyes turn a different color," she explained. The women came at SNCC's expense to tell their story directly to the Justice Department. They could trust no local authority. The police arrested Mrs. Dillon's husband the day their house was bombed in late August. He is still in jail. A state highway patrolman waved sticks of dynamite at her and said she would be killed if she didn't stay away from COFO. The FBI agent who questioned her about the bombing asked her to take a lie detector test to prove she hadn't done it as a publicity stunt. "The FBI were sympathetic at the beginning of the summer," said Mrs. Quin, "but now they tell us they can only comply with local laws." When the women saw the President, they asked him to open an FBI office in the Negro part of town. Now the FBI stay at an inn in the white section and Negroes are afraid to go there.

Before they left for home, Mrs. Quin's 19-year-old daughter called to say it was too dangerous for them to return. McComb Police Chief George Guy reportedly told her that if they came back, "they must pack their rags and get out or be blown out." The women left anyway. "We got to go," said Mrs. Brant, "It's our home."

The other two Negroes from McComb were Mr. and Mrs. Ardis Garner. They won't be going back. Mr. Garner knows too much. He joined the McComb police force when he heard they wanted Negroes. He resigned after being asked to spy on COFO workers. (Another Negro on the force is considered so dangerous by the Negro community that 150 have signed a petition to have him removed. See box.) The Garners' house was bombed minutes after they left McComb. They fled on a bus in the middle of the night and left their belongings. (They will try to settle in San Francisco.) Garner told the Justice Dept. that McComb needs federal marshals to stand guard while Negroes try to sleep. Now, he said, they're "workin' all day and watchin' all night."

Negroes have not been the only ones to suffer. Friendly whites have been intimidated too, and there are several northern students who plan to stay through winter. All would gain if, as Rep. Ryan (D. N.Y.) suggested, the Justice Dept. convened a grand jury to investigate collusion between local police and white terrorists. McComb must learn quickly that it is still being watched. There is a rumor that it has already selected its three young victims.

Must We Have Three More Martyrs?

"The situation which is developing in Pike County resembles that which developed throughout Mississippi immediately before the Summer Project, culminating in the murders of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia. . . . A newspaperman with reliable contacts in the white community has reported that there is a definite plan to "get" three of the COFO workers: Dennis Sweeney, Jesse Harris, and Mendy Samstein. The McComb police have just put on the force a local Negro bootlegger known to have served time at the state penitentiary, to have shot two persons, and to have seriously beaten at least three others. . . . At present there are only 4 FBI agents in McComb, a decrease from the peak of 16 reached during the summer. Unless responsible forces are brought to bear in McComb, what happened in Neshoba County will happen here."

—Letter from Jesse Harris, McComb Project Director, to Burke Marshall, head of Civil Rights at Justice Dept.

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